

117
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THE
CONDUCT of the ALLIES
AND THE
Management of the War

IMPARTIALLY EXAMINED.

IN WHICH

The Reasoning of the Author of *Faction Detected*,
as to FOREIGN AFFAIRS, is Considered and
Refuted.

By the AUTHOR of *Desertion Discussed*.

*Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in femore tempus,
Et concussa fides, & multis utile Bellum.*

LUCAN.



L O N D O N:

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THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
ALLIES, &c.

ALL the World would agree, if they heard a Man deliver himself thus in private Conversation; Sir, if you do not believe what I say, do what I direct, and give up your Fortune entirely to my Management, you are a Rogue, a Rascal, a Villain, and deserve to be hanged; nay, and I will do my best to see you hanged. I say all the World would agree upon hearing a Man talk at this Rate, that he deserved to be treated with the utmost Severity, as an avowed Enemy to civil Society. Yet this is directly the Language of a late famous, or rather infamous, Pamphlet, entitled *Faction detected*, written to justify the Conduct of a dozen People, against the Voice of the whole Nation. The Author of this Pamphlet tells you, that this handful of Men have, and ought to have, more
B Authority

Authority than the Legislature, or the collective Body of the People. They, and they only, according to him are supreme, in all Causes and over all Parties. They may concur with *Tories*, and be *Patriots* all the while; they may throw out their Satyr on the Persons of Princes, and yet remain indisputably loyal; they may directly oppose what they had proposed in the same Sessions, and yet remain consistent; they may pursue Ministers to Destruction, without being suspected of bad Designs; but when they are become Ministers, if any shall dare to disagree with or oppose them, they are to be considered immediately as a Faction, as Incendiaries, *Jacobites*; in short, as Traitors convict; and declared in the Face of the Sun, incapable of enjoying what is the Birth-right of every *Briton*.

THERE have been too many political Disputes, within the Memory of the most intelligent Part of this Nation, and these have been carried on with a Heat and Violence, not indecent only in the Parties themselves, but dangerous to the Nation: But there never was a Dispute of this Sort, that ever rose to the Height of the present, in which this Man as an Advocate for the Great, has in plain Terms declared, that every Man who differs from them in Sentiment, and expresses that Difference, with respect either to domestic or foreign Affairs,

is a Traitor to his King, and an Enemy to his Country. This Pamphlet is in it's Nature, a Bill of Indictment against a great Part of the Nation, and particularly charges such Knights of the Shire, Citizens, and Burgeses their Representatives, who gave their Votes against the *Hanover* Troops, with being thereby guilty of an overt Act of Treason, which ought to be punished with an Incapacity, at least of ever holding either Place or Preferment, rising to any Title, or enjoying the smallest Mark of Royal Favour. To this Indictment several Pleas have been put in; amongst the rest *Desertion discussed* contains the Reasons, why such as have differed with Men in Power about domestic Concerns, should not be esteemed guilty; and in the following Pages I shall endeavour to prove, that the same Persons might differ in Opinion about foreign Affairs, and yet be perfectly innocent.

THE Author of this extraordinary Charge sets out with this strange Proposition. *The Criterion of a Whig Conduct is to resist and reduce the Power, and the Criterion of a Jacobite or Tory Faction, directly or indirectly to assist, encourage and support the Interest of France.*

I SHALL begin my Defence with denying this Position to be true, either in reason or in fact. In order to which I shall first shew, that it is irrational, unjust, and

every way contrary to the Interest of this Nation to act upon or avow such a Principle; and I shall next shew from the Lights of History and Experience, that this is not, or can be, the Criterion of *Whig* Conduct, because it has been frequently disclaimed by the Professions, and is utterly inconsistent with the former Practices of the *Whigs*; and when I have done this I shall endeavour to demonstrate, whence this strange Doctrine arose, why in several Periods of Time it has been preached up, and what mighty Inconveniences the Nation has been run into, by its becoming the ruling Passion of their Governors; from all which I conceive that disinterested and dispassionate People will be led to think, that it is high time it should be for ever exploded, and that the Criterion of a true Patriot should be fixed in the Expression of his *Love* to his *own* Country, both by his Words and Actions, rather than in this *Sempronian* Dialect of bellowing against *France*.

THEY assume it as a thing certain, I mean in order to justify this Position, that the *French* are our natural and implacable Enemies; which is a Character that Nation always disavow and deny. One needs not wonder at this, if it be considered how wild, how unnatural, how impious a Principle, this of unrelenting Hatred is; how contrary to the Law of Nature and Nations, not
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to mention the Law of *Christ*, which seems to be pretty much out of the Head of some Men. Now whether the *French* do or do not deserve this Character, I shall not take upon me to determine; but this I am very clear in, that they are extremely wise in disclaiming it, and that this Behaviour of theirs has been in several critical Conjunctions of mighty use to them. I would therefore be glad to know why, since it is lawful to learn even from Enemies, we should not follow the wise Conduct of the *French* in this respect, rather than justify that implacable Hatred with which we charge them, by avowing it to be the ruling Principle of our own Conduct. Is it not very likely, that whenever we address ourselves to the *Germans*, *Spaniards*, or *Dutch*, in order to bring them into an Alliance against *France*, and endeavour to shew them how far they ought to go, in order to humble, or even to destroy that Power, that they should turn this Maxim upon us, and say, Whatever comes from you of this sort deserves to be suspected; you avow yourselves to be the constant, unalterable Enemies of this Power, and therefore we must have leave to doubt, that you mean rather the Gratification of your own Resentments, than the Security of our Interests. Must not this make us perpetual Principals in every War against *France*, to
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the great Expence, if not utter Impoverishment of this Nation; must it not expose us to the open Efforts and secret Intrigues of this puissant and politic Power at all Times, and in all Conjunctions, when we are weakened and distracted by Factions, when our Trade is dwindling and decaying, when we are loaded with Debts and Taxes, as well as when we are easy and unanimous, full of the Wealth flowing in from our Commerce, and free from every kind of Burden or Incumbrance. If this must be the Case, if this has been the Case, and if no good Consequences in the World can possibly attend the owning such a Principle, why should we own it? Have not the House of *Austria*, have not the Princes of the Empire in general, have not our wise Neighbours and good Allies the *Dutch* had as much Reason to hate the *French* as we; and do they profess any such implacable and unalterable Hatred? Nothing like it; why then, since we think it reasonable to follow them in every thing else, should we not follow them in this too, and content ourselves with declaring a Readiness to resist the Power of *France* when employed to ill Purposes, and to reduce it, when from its Effects it appears exorbitant, without going any farther.

BESIDES, what if the Profession of this Principle, and acting agreeable to that Profession,

fession be in reality serving the Interests of *France*, and destroying our own. The arbitrary Government of that Kingdom, which is in truth the great Cause of its being so troublesome to the rest of *Europe*, took rise from, and has been always strengthened and increased by, long Wars, whereas the Freedom of our Constitution, the Increase and Safety of our Commerce, has had directly a contrary Fate. In that long Interval of Peace, from the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* to the breaking out of the Civil War, our Trade enriched the Nation to such a Degree, that our Naval Power and Shipping, from bearing no Comparison to those of the *Dutch*, as the excellent Sir *Walter Raleigh* has fully shewn they did not, were so far increased as to be a Match, nay an Overmatch for her, at the same time that public Spirit and a Passion for Freedom were so strong, that the Death of so great a Minister as the Earl of *Strafford*, and in so extraordinary a Way, could not satisfy us, but we rushed on like Madmen to still greater Effays of Strength, which ended in our own Undoing, though we still retained Spirits sufficient to recover our antient Constitution. It was in a like Interval of Peace, and Freedom from exorbitant Charges to the Public, I mean in the Reign of King *Charles II*, when upon an average we did not pay above a Million four hundred thousand

land Pounds *per annum* for the whole Expence of our Government, the two short Wars with *Holland* included, that we laid the Foundation of that mighty Wealth, upon which I doubt we have been living ever since, and acquired that Strength of public Spirit, which enabled us to deal as we did with an arbitrary King, and to bring about the glorious Revolution.

FROM that time, I much question, whether taking all things together, we have been growing much richer, and sure I am, that we have not given any extraordinary Testimonies of public Spirit, since, though the Rolls of Parliament are full of Enquiries and Detections of most enormous Offences against the Public, yet Punishments have been very sparing, and it has been owing to the Justice of Providence rather than our own, if the Families of public Plunderers are not at this Day the richest and most powerful in this Kingdom. It seems, therefore, if we would consult our own Interest, and would be really in a Condition to oppose *France*, we should cultivate Peace, and the Arts of Peace, Commerce, and a just and gentle Administration. The former, with the Help of the latter, and a little national Frugality express'd by paying our Debts, and lessening our Taxes, would certainly make us greater in our selves, and more formidable to *France*, than all our endless Negotiations

gotiations and expensive Expeditions. We should then be the proper Balance against that Court, and as such be courted by all the States of *Europe*; to us they would apply upon every Occasion, as we have seen them do formerly, without putting us to the Trouble of running up and down to form a Confederacy, to hire Allies, and to spirit up the Nations on the Continent against that formidable Power.

To come now to Matters of Fact, I say, that resisting and reducing the Power of *France*, has not been the constant Maxim of the *Whigs*; and of this I shall produce a few Instances: The first of them shall be in the Reign of King *Charles II.* The *Whigs* persecuted, and would have brought to the Block, *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*, and the great Author of the Revolution, as a Friend to *France*, and a Promoter of *French* Councils, though they themselves knew that he was neither; but, that on the contrary, one of their Leaders, and whom they protected after the most flagrant Breach of Duty that ever Minister was guilty of, was the Author of those Councils, which they charged upon the Earl of *Danby*, and this whole Intrigue they managed in Concert with Mr. *Barrillon* the *French* Minister, in order to destroy the Earl of *Danby*, whom the *French* King considered as his Capital Enemy, and the

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only Minister that kept his Brother *Charles* from listening to his Advice. In this Affair, which is notorious, I think the Criterion of the *Whig* Conduct could not be resisting or reducing the Power of *France*, but strengthening and increasing their own at any rate. They certainly in this Instance assisted and supported *French* Measures, but it was accidentally, and I believe against their Judgments and their Wills; but it is sufficient to shew, that the *Whigs* like every other Party, may sometimes degenerate into a Faction, and from a deep Spirit of Dissimulation, cry out against *French* Power and the Friends of *France*; when for their own Ends, they are pursuing *French* Measures all the while.

AFTER the Revolution, there was likewise a Time when the *Whigs* disclaimed this Notion; nay, when they concurred to increase the Power of *France*, and were extremely angry at the *Tories* for not concurring with them in their laudable Projects. The Reader will easily discern, that I mean that Period in which King *William* concluded the Partition Treaties, for negotiating which a *Tory* Parliament impeached his Ministers; but it happened then as it has happened ever since, that the single Word *Whig* screened them, as it has done all Ministers of that Denomination ever since. Now by these Treaties of Partition, *France*
actually

actually obtained King *Charles II's* Will in her Favour, and in consequence of it, *Spain* and the *Indies* for King *Philip*. I know it will be said that King *William* was forced into this. By whom, or for what? By his Fears for the *Dutch* abroad, and for the *Whigs* at home, he made those two Treaties, that the one might be safe, and the other govern, for which they are much obliged to him, but certainly this was little for the Benefit of the Nation or the House of *Austria*; the former declared against it unanimously, and the latter refused to accept of the Advantages stipulated for her by those Treaties. I know too it will be said these Treaties were made never to be kept; and to this there is a short Answer, that there is no knowing what to think of a Party who lay down Principles they do not believe; and make Promises in the most solemn Manner, which they never intend to abide by. But be that as it will, the Fact I go upon is certain; the obvious Meaning of the Partition Treaty was increasing the Power of *France*, and such were its direct Consequences. This Treaty was proposed, negotiated, and concluded by *Whigs* abroad, defended, maintained, and applauded in Parliament by the *Whigs* at home; so that resisting and reducing the Power of *France*, was not always the orthodox Language of this Party.

I PROCEED to a third Instance, and that is, the Confidence shewn in respect to the *French* Administration, from the Beginning of the late Reign to the End of it, during all which, this very Doctrine which is now laid down as absolutely necessary to Salvation, was ridiculed as an idle Superstition, and a new Article was introduced into the *Whig* Creed, *viz.* Believe in *France* and suspect the House of *Austria*; for the Truth of which I refer myself to the Experience of all intelligent Persons, to the learned Mr. *Roussel*'s Oraculous Collections, so often appealed to by the Minister's Attorney General the Detector of Faction, and to that very Pamphlet, where the late Administration is at once owned to have been a *Whig* Administration, to have been all along dependent upon *France*, and to have been opposed by the *Tories*, on account of that slavish Dependence; so consistent is this Writer with Truth, and with himself.

THUS I think I have indisputably proved that he sets out wrong; for I have shewn, that the Principle he recommends is unjust as well as unreasonable; and that it is not, nor ever was, the constant Doctrine or Practice of the *Whigs*, but that on the contrary, they, before the Revolution, after the Revolution, and since the Accession of the present Royal Family, have promoted the Views of *France*, concurred with her, and, instead

instead of reducing, have extended and strengthened her Power. I will go farther still, and, since this Book urges me to it, I will speak the whole Truth. *France* owes all her Power to the Intrigues of the *English Whigs*, when out of Power, and their ill Management of it when in. King *Charles I.* demanded Ship-Money to oppose a Scheme of the *French* and *Dutch* to seize the Empire of the Sea, and the Opposition raised against him on that account, though the Money was fairly laid out, and that Scheme disappointed thereby, brought him to the Block, threw this Nation into Confusion, and left *France* to make her Advantage of both, as it is notorious she did. As for the choice *Whig* Spirits that were about *Oliver Cromwell*, they led him into a Confederacy with *France*, which so effectually overturned the Balance of Power in *Europe*, that neither Strength nor Wisdom has been able to set it right since. In the beginning of King *Charles II's* Reign, when by Compliance with the Voice of his People, and by Advice of his Parliament he broke with the *Dutch* and *French*, the *Whigs* were in a secret Confederacy with both, solicited *Lewis XIV.* to send over a great Land-Force for their Service, and piloted the *Dutch* Ships which burnt the *English* Navy at *Chatham*. For the Truth of all this I appeal to that most eminent *Whig* Writer *Edmund Ludlow*

Ludlow Esq; who asserts the Facts of his own Knowledge. As to the two last Wars with *France* the *Tories* promoted them heartily so far as they bore hard upon the common Enemy, but when they found them turned against themselves, when they found a foreign Interest espoused abroad, Debts and Taxes growing upon us at home, the Ends of the War in a manner forgot, and the whole Management of it so directed, as to render it endless, what wonder was it that they became desirous of Peace, or even desirous of it at any rate? Let any Man in his Senses read Bishop *Burnet's* History, which is the Alcoran of the Party, and then let him disown if he can, that during the whole last War, the Nation and the Queen herself were absolutely and arbitrarily governed by a handful of Men of very mutable Principles, for most of them had been of every Party in this Nation, and became *Whigs*, as the Reverend Historian acknowledges, merely that they might keep their Power. I say let any sensible Reader disown this if he can, or if he cannot, let him justify it upon any rational Principles, let him shew that it was consistent with our Constitution, and I will be a patient Subject to *Whigarchy* so long as I draw Breath.

WE may now come without Fear or Danger to the Examination of the capital Point, *viz.* The Conduct of the present
Opposition

Opposition with regard to foreign Affairs, since the coming in of the New Ministry; because we have fully shewn, that Men are not at all bound, in order to preserve the Character of Patriots, or good Subjects, which I presume mean the same thing, or at least as good a thing, as being *Whigs*. I say we have shewn, that it is not necessary, to maintain such a Character, that we should embrace implicitly every passionate Proposal for ruining the Power of *France*, without regard to what it may cost us, because it is not impossible that it may become the Interest of *France* herself secretly to put us upon such Measures, since if our Debts and Taxes are carried but a very little higher, it is most evident, that our Hands will be tied in such a Manner, that should she attack us openly, we should no longer have it in our Power to defend ourselves. It is therefore most apparent, that such Men as wish well to the *British* Nation, without any respect to *Whig* or *Tory*, *Court* or *Country*, *Orfordites* or *Bathites*, or, in short, any other Distinction whatsoever, must be at full Liberty to consider all foreign Interests, let them be what they will, those of *Hanover* and *Austria* not excepted, only so far as they are connected with our own Interest, and not suffer ourselves to be carried away by a Stream of vehement, declamatory Eloquence, into such excessive Expences, and
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into such perilous Incumbrances as must render their own Circumstances uneasy in a Land of a Plenty, and perpetuate the Load of Debts and Taxes on their latest Posterity. If we have not full Liberty in this respect, we are certainly Slaves already ; for People who are tied down to part with their Money, without speaking, for whatever Purposes another Set of Men shall think reasonable, are visibly deprived both of Liberty and Property ; and it will be much the same thing to them, whether this be taken from them by the Prerogative of the Crown, or by the Arts of any of their Fellow-Subjects. Besides, there is the utmost Inconsistency in what this Author says, and indeed what is said by his Patrons. For one Moment they upbraid us with complaining that the *Hanover* Troops were taken into Pay without the Approbation of Parliament, when, say they, it is evident from the great Debate in which this was asserted, that this Measure was submitted to Parliament, but the very next Moment they tell you with all the Insolence imaginable, that such as argued in that Debate against the *Hanoverians* deserve to have the word DETTINGEN branded in their Foreheads. Is this Liberty ! is this Freedom of Speech ! is this submitting a Point to the Approbation of Parliament ! when after the Affair is over, this Tool of sixteen or twenty Men, for I dare say there
are

are not twenty five who do not think this Pamphlet deserves to be burnt by the Hands of the Hangman, shall come and propose branding in the Forehead a great number of the Representatives of the People, for following the Dictates of their Consciences, and perhaps the express Directions of their Constituents.

To proceed regularly in clearing up that Cloud which this Author has endeavoured to throw over public Measures in general, as well as to refute the Aspersions he has cast on the Gentlemen now in the Opposition in particular, I shall endeavour to set the two following Points in a clear Light; first I will shew, that there is no ground for believing that such as remained in the Opposition after the Change in the Ministry, ever altered their Views, or varied in their Sentiments about foreign Affairs; and next I shall make it my Business to prove, that the Conduct of the Allies since the last Sessions of Parliament, has been so far from affording any Matter of Triumph to this Writer or his Patrons, that in effect they have confirmed all that was advanced by such as reasoned on the other side of the Question, and have actually brought many who had a good Opinion of our military Schemes before, to change their Notions, and to wish for a Peace almost at any rate.

THE Author of *Faction detected* would represent it as a strange piece of Inconsistency,

ency, that the Opposition should attack the late Ministry for not supporting the House of *Austria* effectually, and for not assisting to pull down the Power of *France*, when it began to appear so exorbitant and terrible, and yet should oppose the present Administration in their Endeavours to strengthen the House of *Austria*, to weaken the Power of *France*, and to restore the Balance of Power in *Europe*. But when this Matter comes to be thoroughly inquired into, we shall find that this Charge is founded wholly in Misrepresentation. It is indeed true, that the Opposition found great fault with the late Administration for its Conduct towards the House of *Austria*, and with very good Reason; for, as the Author of *Faction detected* has fully shewn, the late Administration had for many Years laboured vigorously and avowedly to weaken and pull down the House of *Austria*, and to support and second the Views of *France*, by which it is most evident, and the Pamphlet beforementioned fully shews it, that all the Mischiefs that have lately happened, and thrown all *Europe* into such Confusion, were owing to the ill Conduct of the late Ministry, and to their persisting in a foolish or knavish Dependence upon *France*. The Opposition therefore might very well expect, that when the perfidious Behaviour of this Court had forced open the Eyes of that
Admi-

Administration, they should immediately have assisted the Queen of *Hungary* vigorously, by supplying her with Money, and sending all the Mercenaries in our Pay to her Assistance; which if they had done in time, would certainly have produced another Spirit in the Empire, whereas their languid and temporizing Measures, giving Money here, and a Vote there, concluding one open Neutrality, and another secret one, destroyed the Credit of the Nation, dispirited all our natural Allies, and looked like acting on both sides, because we durst not declare for either.

SUCH were the Notions which the Gentlemen in the Opposition had formed of the Conduct of the late Administration; and whoever weighs it calmly, will not be at all surprized, that they were not over-hasty in complying with the Measures set on foot by those now in Power. They condemned the late Ministry for not supporting the Queen of *Hungary* pursuant to Treaties, though neither they, nor those now at the Head of Affairs approved those Treaties when they were made, but this is no Argument that they ever intended to sacrifice the Interests of *Great Britain* to those of the House of *Austria*. They blamed the same Ministry for concurring with the Views of *France*, but this did not surely imply a Promise of giving Millions towards the Re-

duction of the *French* Power, and that too in a Time of Peace. In one Word, the present Opposition were for keeping in the middle way; they were for assisting the Queen of *Hungary* in such a manner as might be most serviceable to her, and least burdensome to us; they were for settling the Peace of *Germany* in such a manner as was consistent with our several Engagements, and they intimated then, that if another Plan was pursued, *Prussia* and *Saxony* would fall off again, and that this very Notion of which some People are so fond, I mean of raising the House of *Austria* to its ancient Height, was the only one that could serve the Purposes of *France* by creating new Divisions in the *Empire*.

If the Patrons of *Faction detected* did not, could not, or would not see this; if they were so dazzled with the Prospect of the mighty Advantages that must accrue to themselves by the assembling a great Army in *Germany* under the Command of his Majesty, the Opposition are not to be blamed for having more Foresight, or for shewing an Inclination to see Matters compromised, while the Plots of *France* were in a manner broken by Providence, while her Councils were embarrassed, while a universal Diffidence both of her Sincerity and Power reigned throughout *Germany*, and when, as *Van Hoey's* Letters plainly testify, all might have been

been obtained without a Stroke, that has been yet obtained by Force of Arms, the Possession of *Bavaria* only excepted. Thus this mighty Charge of Inconsistency and Contradiction, when thoroughly and closely examined, is found to be no more than a malicious Representation of that Zeal which the Gentlemen in the Opposition shewed for the Interest of their own Country; and their just Apprehensions of seeing vast Additions made to the almost intollerable Burden which the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* already sustain, in order to gratify an extravagant Hate against *France*, or as extravagant a Passion for the Support of the House of *Austria*, both of which might be very reasonably suspected of being no more than Colours or Coverings for less honourable Designs.

THE Case of the *Hanover* Troops has been already so thoroughly examined, that it needs not employ much of my Time in this Discourse, especially if we remember that this Subject will perhaps very speedily be again considered in a solemn Manner, and where better Lights may be had than private Men can possibly come at. But to shew that this Writer has no such Reason to triumph upon this Topic, as he imagines, I beg leave to transcribe one or two Observations from the *Lords Protest* against this Measure, the third Article of which runs thus. “ Be-
“ cause the restoring the Balance of Power
“ in

“ in *Europe*, by raising the House of *Austria*
 “ to its former Condition of Influence,
 “ Dominion and Strength is an Object quite
 “ unattainable by the Arms of *Great Britain*
 “ alone ; and for the attaining of which no
 “ other Power is joined, or is likely to
 “ join, with us, in any offensive Engage-
 “ ments, either against the Emperor, or
 “ against *France*.” I should be glad to learn
 what Answer can be given to this ; or, in other
 Words, I should be glad to know what
 Power has joined, or is likely to join, with
 us in any offensive Engagements, either a-
 gainst the Emperor, or against *France* ; and
 if no proper Answer can be given to this,
 as all the World knows there cannot, I ap-
 peal to every *Englishman*, who wishes as
 well to his Country as he does to his own
 Family, whether we ought to prosecute this
 Measure any farther, or whether there are
 any Hopes of our reducing the Emperor and
France, without the Assistance of any other
 Power.

THE fourth Article of that *Protest* con-
 tains the following Observation. “ Because
 “ such an Assistance to the Queen of *Hun-*
 “ *gary*, as the Situation of her Affairs, and
 “ that of all *Europe*, as well as the particu-
 “ lar Interest and Policy of this Island re-
 “ quire, would have been more properly
 “ given in Money, with much less Expence
 “ and Danger to us, with much more Ef-
 “ fect

“fect and Advantage to our Ally. The
 “thirty eight thousand Men, now said to
 “be paid for her Service, costs this Nation
 “one million four hundred thousand
 “pounds, one half of which Sum would
 “have enabled her to maintain a greater
 “Number of Men, capable of acting what-
 “ever her Affairs might require; so that
 “above seven hundred thousand pounds
 “seems to be wantonly lavished away, be-
 “sides the Lives of many of the Subjects of
 “*Great Britain.*”

To this Strain of Reasoning, the Author
 of *Faction detected* has very carefully re-
 plied, and suggested, I dare say, every thing
 that can be suggested in favour of the con-
 trary Measure. If, therefore, upon a strict
 Examination, all that he says shall appear
 to be trifling and insufficient, then I ap-
 prehend we may rest satisfied that this,
 which is the capital Point in the Dispute, is
 not to be defended.

OUR great Politician's Answer is divided
 into five Heads; first, *says he*, this supply-
 ing the Queen of *Hungary* with Money
 would not be right, “because such im-
 “mense Sums exported out of this Coun-
 “try thither, would have distressed us great-
 “ly, and would have none of it return-
 “ed; it would have therefore been imprac-
 “ticable to have continued this Expence for
 “any time. Whereas, by Experience of
 “the

“ the last War, it was manifest, that very
 “ near two thirds of the Charge of the Ar-
 “ mies we maintained within a nearer Di-
 “ stance of this Country, returned to us
 “ again; and we have had a Proof that we
 “ can support a War in this Method, with-
 “ out any vast Diminution of our Specie.”

Now then, upon his own Reasoning, ex-
 porting immense Sums must distress us great-
 ly, consequently we must be twice as much
 distressed to export a Million, four hundred
 thousand Pounds, as we should have been
 to export seven hundred thousand, or rather
 much more, because People usually find a
 much greater Difficulty in raising very large
 Sums, than in raising large Sums; but then,
says he, almost two thirds of this Money
 comes back; that's well, but it would have
 been better if he had told us how. But take
 it, as you must do every thing from these
 People, upon trust, there is, according to his
 reckoning, five hundred thousand Pounds lost
 for ever, and if to this you add the incident-
 al Expences of sending so great a Body of
 Men abroad, I presume even this Writer
 will admit that the whole of our Loss is very
 moderately computed at seven hundred thou-
 sand Pounds, so that here is an End of his
 first Answer. To which we may add, that
 as the Queen of *Hungary* intends to cloath
 her Troops with our Manufactures, we might
 have had a Chance, for a third part at least,
 back

back again, and then we should have been Gainers according to his own Computation.

SECONDLY, *says he*; “ Because such
“ immense Sums must, from the Nature of
“ that Court, have been much wasted or
“ consumed; but, however applied, could
“ not so conveniently have answered our
“ Ends, because we should have lost the Ad-
“ vantage of a Diversion to the Forces of
“ *France*, which is a Measure of the great-
“ est Benefit in War. ” This is a very high
Reflection upon the Court of *Vienna*, and
may with equal Justice be applied to the
granting five hundred thousand Pounds for
the Support of that Queen. If there be any
Truth in it, we are mad to distress ourselves
for the Sake of serving such as will throw
our Money away, in the midst of their own
Distress; and if it be either doubtful or false,
what must we think of this Writer, who,
to curry Favour with his Patrons, does not
stick to blaspheme even the House of *Au-*
stria. I would gladly ask him, whether he
thinks no Money has been wasted or con-
sumed in the other way of applying it; and
if I might be so bold, whether in speaking
of *Diversions*, he is in Jest or in Earnest.

HE goes on to alledge, Thirdly, that,
“ we should have lost the Advantage that
“ resulted from the Security of the Barri-
“ er, from the Encouragement of the
“ *Dutch*, from the Protection of the States

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“ and

“ and Circles lying upon the Confines of
 “ *France*, and the Influence we have since
 “ manifestly gained upon the Diet of the
 “ Empire.” To this it may be replied, that
 the Barrier never was in any Danger; that
 if *France* had attacked the *Dutch*, it must
 have produced a general War, with Cir-
 cumstances much to our Advantage; that it
 does not appear, that the Circles of the Em-
 pire in the Neighbourhood of *France* have
 received any Protection or Advantage from
 our Measures; but that on the contrary, they
 complain of being twice eaten up; and as
 to our Influence over the Diet, it shall be
 confessed whenever it takes one Step for
 us, in return for taking many Steps against
 us, particularly granting the Emperor fifty
Roman Months for the Support of the pre-
 sent War.

HIS fourth Argument runs thus: “ Be-
 “ cause no other Measure could have put
 “ it in our Power to attack and penetrate
 “ into *France* itself, if God should prosper
 “ our Arms with any remarkable Success;
 “ and because, by this Apprehension the
 “ Flower of her Armies have been conse-
 “ quently retained at home, and the more
 “ likely to be brought to Terms of rea-
 “ sonable Accommodation.” According to
 this Man’s Method of reasoning, we are to
 conclude that Providence did not prosper
 our Arms with any remarkable Success,
 since

since we did not penetrate into *France*; but he would have done better if he had shewn that we were bound by any Treaty to enter upon such a Measure, that the doing it without the Advice of Parliament had been justifiable, or that all these things considered, any reasonable Man ought to believe it was ever intended. As to removing the Seat of War, the *French* and all the World beside conceive it to be their Advantage, and therefore in common Decency he should not have mentioned that.

I COME now to his last Reason, and glad I am that it is the last; for according to his way of writing, we might have had fifteen as well as five. This fifth Reason is, " That
 " by this means, we availed ourselves of
 " two great Points: First, of the Cavalry
 " of the *Allies*, which is the best in *Europe*,
 " and must have been for the greatest Part
 " unemployed in this Quarrel, if the War
 " had not been carried on in this Manner;
 " and Secondly, of the natural Superiority
 " which confederated Powers have over a
 " single Nation, and what was our manifest
 " Advantage, in the last War, *viz.* that the
 " Loss of Men on our Part, will fall more
 " equally, and will be less felt; while the
 " whole Loss of *France* falls upon her own
 " Nation, from whence alone she is able to
 " recruit; which Circumstance, all other
 " things supposed to be equal, must enable

“ the Queen of *Hungary* to sustain the War
 “ longer, and with less Inconvenience than
 “ the *French*.—For whatever the Vulgar
 “ have been taught to think, the *Austrian*
 “ Dominions are by no means inexhaustible
 “ of Men; — though the *French* have
 “ suffered more, yet the *Austrians* have
 “ lost a great Number, and it is a certain
 “ Fact, that *France* alone contains more
 “ Inhabitants than all the Countries of the
 “ Queen of *Hungary* put together.” This
 is a complete Epitomy of the whole Pam-
 phlet; his Thoughts have so little relation to
 each other, that he is forced to put black
 Lines between them, to keep them asunder.
 As to the Cavalry of the *Allies*, I wonder
 how he came to mention them, unless it
 was from their remarkable Service in the only
 Engagement of the Year, where I believe
 few People will think they merited the
 Compliment he pays them. Next with re-
 gard to the Confederacy, I wonder where it
 is; he confesses himself, that this allied or
 combined Army consisted only of the Queen
 of *Hungary's* Troops, and of Troops that
 we content to pay for her Service. Upon
 the whole, I think he has made it out un-
 answerably, that the Queen of *Hungary*, if
 she had but Money enough, might have
 more Men than the *French*; the single
 Question now remaining is, whether we
 can furnish her with Money enough to wear
 out

out all the Men in *France*. I say this is the single Question with him, but with us it ought to be, whether to furnish her with Money all this Time would be worth our while.

I SHALL mention but one thing more, and that is the Article of Levy-Money, with respect to which it is said in the *Protest*, that in the Convention made with that Electorate in the Year 1702, there is no Mention made of Levy-Money or Recruit-Money, with both which we are charged in the present Demand, besides other extraordinary Articles; and we conceive, proceed their L—d—ps, “ that the Article of
 “ Levy-Money, amounting alone to no less
 “ a Sum than 139, 313 *l.* is a more particular Hardship upon us, because it is
 “ known to all the World, that the sixteen
 “ thousand Men were not levied at the Request, nor for the Service, of *England*;
 “ but that the only Addition made to the
 “ usual Establishment of the Electoral Forces
 “ in Time of Peace was, six thousand Men
 “ raised some time before, upon the Death
 “ of the late Emperor, and for the Service
 “ of his Majesty’s *German* Dominions; nor
 “ can we help observing, that when we
 “ contracted for *Hanover* Troops in *June*
 “ 1702, their Pay did not commence till
 “ the beginning of that very Month, in which
 “ some had already taken the Field, and the
 “ rest

“ rest were actually upon their March ; so
 “ that the Contract being only to the 1st
 “ of *January* following, *England* received
 “ the Benefit of the Service of those Troops
 “ during a whole Campaign, for the Pay
 “ of seven Months only, whereas by now
 “ taking these Troops into our Pay, on the
 “ 31st of *August* 1742 (that is, a Month be-
 “ fore they began their March into *Flan-*
 “ *ders*) till the 26th of *December* 1743,
 “ we shall give them sixteen Months Pay
 “ for the Service of one Campaign only,
 “ if they should ever make a Campaign at
 “ all ; so that *Hanover* not only receives
 “ the great and immediate Profit of this ad-
 “ vantageous Bargain, but is also exonerated
 “ of above half the number of Forces which
 “ it used to maintain in times of the most
 “ profound Tranquillity.”

To this let us hear our great Politician's
 Answer. In the first Place, these noble
 L---ds were a parcel of Blockheads for making
 the Comparison ; for, says our *Machiavel*,
 who may be a L---d too for any thing I know,
 no such Comparison could be properly made
 ——— Why? ——— the *Dutch* first took
 them into their Service, and they were af-
 terwards turned over into our Pay. The
Dutch therefore paid the Expence of Levy-
 Money, &c. Now this I take to be intirely
 giving up the Point ; for I would be glad
 to know why, since we paid no Levy-Mo-
 ney

ney in 1702, because the Troops were raised for the Service of the *Dutch* in 1701, we should in 1742 pay Levy-Money for Troops that were raised for the Security of the Electorate in 1740? Is it not enough that we pay for the Troops as their Lordships say, and ease the Electorate of a Charge that was necessary for it's own Defence; what Ground is there in Nature that we should pay them Levy-Money, when it was never demanded of us by the *Dutch*; and indeed I think it more than twenty to one that they never paid it.

THEN as to the Sum of Money charged, our Author has two Answers to that, the first is, " that no one of these Articles, that
 " is, none of the Articles in this Estimate
 " literally contains the Sum applied to
 " the Charge of that Article, of which it
 " bears the Title; but the Deficiency of the
 " one is made up by the Exceedings of
 " the other; and many Contingencies,
 " Necessaries, and extraordinary Expences
 " are accounted for under this Form; upon
 " on the gross Amount of which, and not
 " otherwise, foreign Princes can be enabled
 " to afford their Troops to us, at the rate
 " they do, and upon this Foot it was allowed
 " lately to the Troops of *Denmark*. As
 " to the second, the Levy-Money of these
 " Troops is in the same Proportion with
 " that of all others; but the Sum was the
 " larger

“ larger, because the Body of Troops hired
 “ in this Instance, consisted one third of
 “ Horfe, whereas in most of our other Con-
 “ tracts of this Nature, the Horfe have usual-
 “ ly amounted only to one sixth; and parti-
 “ cularly in the Case of the *Danes* and
 “ *Hessians*, which lately were, and now
 “ continue, in our Service.”

I APPEAL to any Man who has common Sense, and dares make use of it, whether these two Answers are not utterly irreconcilable; first it is said that none of these Articles are exact, but the Deficiencies of the one are made up by the Exceedings of the other; and immediately after it is said, that this could not be trusted to, but the Article was heightened because there were more Horfe than usual. 'Had he not better have said in plain *English*, that we took the most chargeable Part of the Troops of the Electorate off their Hands, But to recur once more to the Comparifon, there was in 1702 an over-proportion of Horfe, as well as now, and what was done then? Why they were thrown into the Bargain, whereas we now not only pay for their Horfe to the last Man, but we pay for their Horfe Guards as much as if they were double the Number of Men.—What will not some People defend! Now as to the Quantum of this Levy-Money, I find that in the Year 1704 there was granted for the
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Levy-Money of five thousand Men for the Service in *Portugal* 11844*l.* and I find that the constant Allowance then was three pounds a Man at the highest. In 1710 we carried over several thousand *Imperialists* from *Italy* to *Catalonia*, and the Levy-Money allowed for them was, 32335 *l.* so that in those Days we should have paid these *Hanoverians* about 48000 *l.* instead of 139313.

BESIDES these Hardships there was another greatly complained of; for whereas in 1702 we had only one Lieutenant General, and one Major General to command ten thousand Men, we have now one General, two Lieutenant Generals, three Major Generals, four Brigadier Generals, one Aid de Camp, four Aids de Camp, ten Aids de Camp, two Majors of Brigade of Horse, and two Majors of Brigade of Foot, for sixteen thousand Men. The Event has sufficiently shewn, that we have good reason to be apprehensive of so many *Hanoverian* Generals; and I dare say, when all things are considered, the Answers this Man has given, will appear to be rather Ecchoes of unsatisfactory Apologies made by his Masters, than any solid or convincing Arguments arising either from his own penetrating Understanding, or from the strict Enquiry he has made into Facts. Those who opposed these things, while there was yet room left for opposing them, fore-

saw many of the untoward Consequences which have followed upon these Measures taking place; and therefore they have no reason in the World to be ashamed of that Opposition, but rather good grounds to value themselves upon it: And this I take to be not my private Sentiment only, but the Voice of the whole Nation; however, most certainly these are Reasons sufficient to exempt them from a Conviction for High Treason, I mean against the *Hanoverians*; and therefore I hope the Author will not appear at the Door of the H— of C—— with a Chafing Dish and red-hot Iron to frighten M——rs from voting, if this Affair comes on again.

WE are now arrived at the second Point, which is, the small Reason this Gentleman and his Patrons have to boast as they do, of the mighty Success of their Measures. In the first place, if we look towards the *North* we shall find things not in so good Order as we could wish. I do not believe that the most sanguine of our Politicians think the Election of the *Holstein* Family to the *Swedish* Succession, much to our Advantage, or very agreeable to our Inclinations. The Hopes we had, nay the Author of *Faction detected* has converted them into Certainty, that *Russia* would send a large Body of Auxiliaries into *Germany* are totally destroyed. An unhappy Turn that things
had

had taken in that Part of the World from the time of the Marquis *De Botta's* going into *Prussia*, the ambiguous Armament of *Denmark*, and the Discovery of the Conspiracy in favour of the little Prince *John*, have changed the face of Affairs in those Parts to such a Degree, as leaves no room for boasting. The King and Senate of *Sweden* have by an authentic Decree approved the Conduct of Count *Tessin* while he was Minister in *France*, and Lieutenant General *Bona* is by this time arrived at *Paris* from *Berlin* with a private Commission from the King of *Sweden*. The Correspondence between *Paris* and *Petersburg*, which was in a manner at a full Stop, is renewed; and we are told that a Treaty of Commerce is pretty far advanced between them. I know it may be said, in answer to all this, that we have fixed the powerful King of *Denmark* in our Interest by an Alliance. I cannot help recollecting upon this Occasion, what I once heard a noble Lord, now a great Minister, say of a former Treaty concluded with that Monarch. *I am sure it must be for the Advantage of Denmark, for had it been otherwise, I am confident, from the personal Knowledge I have of that Prince, he would not have concluded it.* What he then said of that Treaty, may I believe, without any Breach of Truth, be applied to this Alliance; especially if there

be any Truth in what we have seen more than once asserted in the *Daily Advertiser*, and never contradicted in any other Paper, viz. That he had been promised the Support of a certain Court in favour of his Views upon *Holstein*, which if true in any Degree, must leave us no Ally in that Part of the World, except his *Danish* Majesty only. Time will shew the Fruits of this Alliance, but at present I think even the Author of *Faction detected* has not thought proper to point out the Succours that we are to expect from thence in favour of our Schemes in *Germany*, which I dare say he would have done, if they had ever been so much as talked of. We have no reason therefore to value ourselves at present on defeating the *French* Plots in this Quarter of the World. Providence indeed defeated them some time ago, and how Opportunities were given to the present Cardinal to piece together his Predecessor's Projects, I leave to be explained by some more intelligent Writer, who has had Opportunity of seeing the latest Dispatches from *Russia*, and particularly that large Account of the Conspiracy which the Czarina caused to be printed in support of her Manifesto.

WE are over and over told that *Saxony* and *Prussia* are detached from the Alliance of *France*, with Circumstances that in a great Degree secure us from a Possibility of
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of their uniting with her again, during the present Contention. Now whether our Author spoke this as a Politician or a Prophet, I pretend not to determine, but shall content myself with observing, that in what Sense soever he spoke it, he is most certainly mistaken. To begin with the Court of *Saxony*, we were told that she had not only adjusted all Differences with the Court of *Vienna*, but was so thoroughly united to her, as to keep twenty thousand Men in constant Readiness to march for her Service. Sometimes, indeed, these Troops were said to be in our Pay, at other times they were to assist in the common Cause, but upon whatever Terms they were to march, all the World knows that a Body of *Saxons* were for a long time expected, and when the Forces of a certain imaginary Alliance were mustered, the *Saxons* always had a Place, and were as much to be depended upon as any of the rest. Our voluminous Author indeed ascribes this not so much to their Love for the House of *Austria*, as to the Dread of our Fleets on the Coast of *Naples*. After all, this Court seems to be as little affected by Hope or Fear, as any other; the *Saxons* never did join the combined Army, and by this time I think it is morally certain they never will. On the contrary it appears from some late Transactions, that they care as little to see
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the Queen of *Hungary's* Auxiliaries in *Germany*, as those of the Emperor; and have no more Kindness for the *British* Troops than for the *French*. This tallies so little with the Politics, and agrees so ill with the Assurances given us by this great Author, that we must conclude, either that he was ignorant of the true Situation of Affairs, and consequently very unfit to instruct others; or else, that, in Imitation of his Patrons, he meant to deceive the Vulgar for a time, and to flatter us into an Opinion of Allies, upon which he knew we had no reason to depend. Take it either way, we have no reason to thank him for playing the fool with us in this Manner; for after all, since the Court of *Dresden* has a powerful Army on foot, it concerns us very nearly to know what part they will take, or whether, after all that has been said on both sides, they intend to take any. Be it as it will, this Man is mistaken, we have not been able to detach the Emperor from *France*, nor is his Imperial Majesty so destitute of Allies. He has now an Imperial Army in the Neighbourhood of *Frankfort*, and many of the Ministers in the Imperial Diet, among which are those of *Saxony*, have shewn a strong Inclination to support his Authority in conjunction with that of the Empire, by a total Exclusion of foreign Troops out of *Germany*, which appears to be

be so much the harder upon us, because our present Quarrel with *France*, seems to be as much grounded on the Injuries she has done the Empire, as on her Injustice towards the Queen of *Hungary*, and her Breach of Faith in regard to the Pragmatic Sanction. The Court of *Saxony* therefore does not appear to be so absolutely disjoin'd from that of *France*, since she is still so closely connected with that of *Bavaria*.

THERE are still stronger Objections lie against what he asserts as to the Conduct of the Court of *Prussia*. We were indeed for some time amused with mighty Expectations from the Treaty of *Breslau*, which it was said, would by the Help of certain Accessions, settle the Peace of *Germany*, and fix the Fate of *Europe*. But Time, who is a greater Politician than the Author of *Faction detected*, has sufficiently convinced us, that this Treaty only settled the Differences between the Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Prussia*, at the Expence of the Pragmatic Sanction, which has been so often declared unalterable, and of which we are Guaranties, and has fixed nothing but the Possession of *Silesia* to the King of *Prussia*, under our Guaranty, which may sometime or other cost us as much as that of the Pragmatic Sanction has done already. I must not forget another Treaty between our Court and that of *Prussia*, concluded, if I mistake
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not, at *London*, and strangely magnified before it appeared; but after it had once found a Place in the *Dutch* Gazettes, as very little was expected, so nothing has come of it. The Court of *Prussia* acted always uniformly in respect to the Emperor, and therefore could never reasonably be supposed utterly irreconcilable to *France*. The wisest Politicians in *Europe*, saw plainly that it was a settled Maxim with his *Prussian* Majesty, not to suffer any Power in *Germany* superior to his own; from whence they rightly concluded that he would constantly maintain the Vote he had given, and never afford any Assistance, notwithstanding what was affirmed to the contrary, towards the Re-establishment of such an Authority in the House of *Austria*, as might render her one Day formidable to him, and to the rest of the States of the Empire. Upon this Foundation his whole Conduct may be easily accounted for; now will any sensible Man wonder that his Behaviour should give the Lie to our Author's Conjecture, that *Prussia* and *France* could never be Friends, since we see them now, at least, as closely united as ever, and perhaps may feel the Effects of this Union very sensibly, before the Season will permit us to make another Campaign. I think myself warranted to say this, from his *Prussian* Majesty's insisting in so peremptory a manner, that no Part of the Army of the Allies

Allies should pretend to take Quarters in the Territories of the neutral States of the Empire; though this Favour has been granted to his Imperial Majesty's Army, which may possibly become as numerous, and with-all, much more formidable than ever it was in conjunction with its Auxiliaries, and this too, before the Spring. These I say, seem to be the probable Consequences of some Steps lately taken in *Germany*, and though the Friends of *Faction detected*, or if I may be allowed to trifle a little with Words, the Friends of the *Faction* that will be *speedily detected*, may treat this as absurd and ridiculous, yet I am confident I shall neither prove so bad a Prophet or Politician, as this Man, with all his Airs of Self-Sufficiency, and Insinuations of his being trusted with the Secrets of the Cabinet and employed to give the *Cue* of the *Session* to his Party.

THIS Writer plumes himself very much on the late active Campaign, but let any Man read his Book with Attention, and he will see, that all he says on one side, amounts to nothing more than bold Assertion; and all he says against the other, may be reduced to down-right Billingsgate and calling Names, which to say the Truth, supplies the Place of Argument through his whole Book. But to shew the Weakness, Folly, and Inconsistency of what he delivers

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upon this Subject, we need only consider what it was incumbent upon him to prove. His Patrons had asserted in Parliament, that this great Army was intended for the Service of the Queen of *Hungary*, for weakening the Power of *France*, and for re-establishing the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, by restoring the Tranquillity of *Germany*; that in order to this, the Army should march into the Empire, should act vigorously against the Queen of *Hungary's* Enemies, and that our Allies the *Dutch*, as well as all our Mercenaries, should bear a Part in this important Undertaking; the ultimate Design of which was declared to be the total Destruction of *French* Power, and *French* Influence in *Germany*.

It was certainly then this Writer's Business, if he had known what he was about, to have laid down a regular Plan of the intended Operations of the Campaign, which might have been safely done now it is over. He should have shewn us with what View this Army was to march into the Empire, where they were to march, for what, and against whom; and to have convinced us that all he said was true, he should have shewn that Roads were made passible, and Magazines erected agreeable to this Plan of Operation. But it is plain he could not do this, because there were no such Magazines; and the only justifiable Reason that can be offered

ferred for the Scarcity of Provisions at *A-schaffenburg*, must be this; that it was not originally intended we should march so far. He should next have shewn, what Benefit the Queen of *Hungary* received by our marching there at all, for this is far from being clear. If it be said, that it was with an Intent to drive the *French* out of *Germany*, the contrary is clear; for our March actually brought a new *French* Army into *Germany*; enabled M. *Noailles* to send a large Detachment to the Assistance of M. *Broglio*, and to cover his Retreat; which otherwise had never been in their Power. Then as to fighting, he should have shewed that this was our Intention; but the Secretary's Letter is there in his Teeth; he boasts that the *Emperor's Auxiliaries* were the *Aggressors*, which certainly implies that there would have been no fighting if they had not been so; and no body I believe ever imagined that it was the Sentiments of the Opposition, the *English* Troops would not fight when they were attacked; so that the Battle of *Dettingen* is so far from giving the Lye to what they foretold, that in reality it is the strongest Proof of the Truth of it. Next as to his *Hessians*, it was said they would not fight against the Emperor, and they never did fight against him, or against any body else; but moved so slowly, that nothing but the desperate

Valour of the *English* and *Austrians*, could have saved the combined Army from being sacrificed by their Tardiness. Yet they joined the Allied Army at last: Very true, they did so, but it was after all the fighting was over. But perhaps he will say that they assisted in driving the *French* out of *Germany*: Let him, or let any one else prove this. M. *Noailles* retired indeed, and retired precipitately, but that was occasioned by the Approach of Prince *Charles*, who in reality, drove him as well as M. *Broglie* out of the Empire; and therefore this strengthens the Conjecture of the Opposition, that if the Queen of *Hungary* had been furnished with Money instead of Troops, she would have increased that Army which was possessed with a Spirit of fighting, to such a Degree of Strength, as might have been much more fatal to the *French*, than the other inactive Army, which *came, saw* — and *did* little or nothing.

I SHALL not say a Word of what makes so great a Noise in the World, I mean the unreasonable and impolitic Partiality that was shewn to the *H—v—ns*, because I desire to confine myself to such Subjects as may be of Use to my Countrymen; but I cannot help observing one thing, which I think very preposterous, and that is, the Turn that some People would give to this Affair, by insisting that his Majesty was there in
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his Electoral Capacity, which, before the Battle of *Dettingen*, could not possibly be true, since all the *Hanoverians* in the Allied Army where in *British* Pay, and served him consequently in that Juncture as King of *Great Britain*. This Excuse, therefore, gives up the Matter of Fact as indisputable, and introduces an Apology grounded on a false Fact, whereas one might have hoped in Consequence of the Declarations of some great People, that this would have been refuted by a direct Disproof of the Charge, from the Mouths of the most eminent *English* Officers now at home, who are certainly bound in Duty to give their Testimony to the Truth, let it lye on which side it will; and I am perswaded they will give this Testimony, when, and wherever they are called upon.

THE Motion of the *Dutch* is thrown in the Teeth of the Opposition, but with little Reason surely. The Opposition always knew, always said that the *Dutch* would fulfil their Engagements; but the Question was, what the Nature of those Engagements might be, and is not this the Question still? Is this Question at all enlightened by their manner of joining the Allies, or by their Conduct after their Junction; on the contrary, is it not rather obscured by the sudden breaking up of that Army, almost as soon as the *Dutch* Auxilliaries were in it?

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Does not this seem to intimate that the *Dutch* Generals had no Orders to act offensively against *France*, or does their sending a Detachment in Conjunction with the other Troops of the Allies to fill up the Lines which the *French* had abandoned on the *Queich*, demonstrate the contrary: No certainly; we are therefore as much in the dark upon this Head as ever, and know full as little, whether the *Dutch* are disposed to concur in our Designs for humbling the Power of *France*, as we do about those Designs; for though the Opposition are threatened with being branded in the Forehead as Friends to *France* and Enemies to their Country, yet no body pretends to say upon what Grounds we are to attack *France*, where we are to attack her, or for what purpose.

UPON the whole, therefore, this Writer has egregiously failed in shewing from the Transactions of the last Campaign, as he promised to do, that the Opposition were absolutely in the wrong; for by shewing that a great Army was assembled in *Germany*, suffered itself to be attacked before it had ever discovered any Design of attacking, and then suffering the Enemy to withdraw, without returning the Compliment; following them towards their own Frontiers with a seeming Resolution to pursue them home; waiting till they had abandoned their

their Lines before they came up to them, and retiring in the Night from before other Lines which the *French* had once abandoned, but had now repossessed them; all this I say instead of proving the Opposition absolutely in the wrong, manifestly prove it in the right. I appeal to the *English* Nation, and it is the Sense of the *English* must decide this Question, Whether they would give one half of the Money they gave last Year for such another Campaign, exclusive of the Battle of *Dettingen*; the Glory of which was forced upon us by the *French*. I am, I think, warranted in this Observation by the Secretary's Letter, who desires the Nation should judge of this Campaign by its Consequences. Let us consider then, what the Consequences of the Campaign are, with respect to the Share we have had in it? Have we conquered any thing for the Queen of *Hungary*, or has she conquered any thing for herself, since the Armies acted in Conjunction? Has not Prince *Charles* found the Task imposed on him too hard, though he never found any Task so before; and might he not have passed the *Rhine* without any Difficulty at all, if the combined Army had really intended to have acted offensively against the *French* in their own Dominions? Have we at the End of this Campaign one Ally more than at the Beginning of it; or, has not the Issue of the Campaign encourag-
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ed some Powers to throw off that Masque of Friendship, which they thought for their Interest to wear before it? Has not *France* recovered her Spirits to a great Degree, has she not a more visible Influence than she had in the Spring; is not the Emperor surrounded at *Francfort* by his own Troops quartered in the Territories of several Princes of the Empire, by the Empire's Consent, which was a Favour denied to the Queen of *Hungary*, and the Allies; is it not more than probable from the Steps lately taken by several *German* Courts, that the Emperor will soon find a favourable Alteration in his Affairs, in spite of all we have been doing to ruin them; and is it at all clear, as the Author of *Faction detected* asserts, that we have nothing to apprehend from the King of *Prussia*? What room then for Triumph, what Ground for boasting of important Victories abroad, or for threatening to brand the Members of a *British* Parliament at home.

WE have now done with what is past, let us look forward to what is to come; the Author of *Faction detected* and his Friends seem steadily resolved to pursue their Scheme, though at the same time they are not so kind as to tell us what that Scheme is, further than that it is to consist in carrying on a War abroad, which we know must be supported by an Increase of Debts and Taxes
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limited the Power of *France*, and circumscribed her within just Bounds, according to what that eminent and learned Civilian, Colonel *Mentzel* has been pleased to publish to us, and all the World upon this important Subject, in his celebrated Manifesto, on his making his first Irruption into *Lorrain*.

It appears from that extraordinary Piece, that a Design has been formed for recovering out of the Hands of *France* all the Countries she has dismembered from the Empire, as a thing just in itself, and very expedient for the Peace of *Europe*. First, because these Countries ought not to be regarded as the lawful Possessions of *France*, since they were all obtained formerly either by open Force or secret Fraud. Secondly, because this Restitution will greatly heighten the Power of the Empire, prove a strong Barrier to several of its frontier Circles; and afford a kind of Patrimonial Dominion for the Emperor, who has at present not so much as a Foot of Land in virtue of his Title, except a Fortress or two scarce worth his keeping. Thirdly, this would so effectually reduce the Power of *France*, as to make her incapable of interfering with or disturbing the Affairs of her Neighbours, and would especially secure us against any future Invasions on the Territories or Liberties of the *German* Princes, by acquiring such a Strength to the Empire, as would secure its Independency for ever. I have
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set forth this Scheme with all its Advantages, that I may appear a candid and ingenuous Writer; neither do I form my Objections upon any Dislike that I have to this Scheme, but upon the plain Impossibility of its being ever carried into execution; which if I can make out, I presume it will follow that we ought not to undertake it; for to attempt the Reduction of the Power of *France*, and afterwards to leave her unreduced, is to weaken ourselves, and to aggrandize her, either of which I believe there is not a *Whig* or *Tory* in this Kingdom desires.

To shew that how beautiful soever this Project may appear in Speculation, it is however altogether impracticable, I shall begin with observing that the Authority of the Empire is absolutely necessary before we can form any justifiable Right so much as to endeavour at a thing of this nature. For with what Face can the Queen of *Hungary* or her Allies pretend to attack *France* in the Name, and for the Behoof of the Empire, not only without its Request, but without its Concurrence or Consent? On the contrary, what Probability is there, that the Empire will ever interpose its Authority to countenance our Purpose, when most of the Countries taken from it, have been yielded and given up to *France* by solemn Treaties, to which the Empire gave its Sanction, and by which many of its most valu-

able Rights are settled and adjusted? How can it be thought that the present Diet of the Empire should be induced either to declare War against *France*, or to support the Queen of *Hungary* and her Allies in declaring War against that Crown for having undertaken to march Armies into the Empire at the Request, at least by the Consent, of this very Diet? This Objection alone appears to me sufficiently conclusive, if there were no other; for without the Authority of the Empire I think no body will say that such a War can be made; and I conceive there can be nothing more unlikely, more improbable, or more absurd, than to suppose such an Authority should ever be brought to support it; and this I think, notwithstanding what the Author of *Faction detected* has told us of the mighty Influence last Year's Campaign has given us over the Diet of the Empire; and this I repeat, because if there had been any Truth in it, and withal any Intention of executing this Scheme the Diet would certainly have interposed its Authority to this Effect already.

My next Objection is founded in the vast Extent of this Design, which supposes it in the Power of the Queen of *Hungary* and her Allies, that is, ourselves, to overturn what has been so long established, to redress Grievances, some of them of above an hundred Years standing, to unravel many, and those

those too, the most authentic Treaties, and to do that which two grand Alliances and a much greater Strength could not do, when *France* was much weaker. All this will more fully appear, if we take a cursory View of what is to be done. First, we are to take away the Bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, which were conquered long ago by the *French*, and confirmed to them in 1648, by the Treaty of *Munster*. Next, to deprive the same Crown of the Upper and Lower *Alsace*, the Town of *Brisac*, and the Præfecture of the Ten Imperial Towns, yielded by the same Treaty; we are besides to tear away *Burgundy* and *Franch-Compte*: The Possession of which was confirmed by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, besides all which we are to conquer Part of the Dutchy of *Luxemburg*, and all *Lorrain*, which have likewise been given up by subsequent Treaties, all of which may be reckoned void, in consequence of our making such an Attempt, and how far this may effect the Interests of all the Princes in *Germany*, our own, and the Commerce of the Maritime Powers, is a Subject not easily discussed, though from its Importance it deserves to be maturely considered. To make Wars, and to violate solemn Treaties from ambitious Views, under colourable Pretences, has been indeed the Practice of *France*; and I think we have no reason to envy the Reputation, or even the

the Power she has acquired by it; at least, not to such a Degree as to risk having the same Reputation, and being as much dreaded by our Neighbours as she is.

A THIRD Objection, and a very strong one too, flows from the present Condition of these Countries, from the military Skill and Diligence of the *French*, who have taken care to fortify them in such a manner, and have in their Service such numerous Bodies of regular Forces, which from the Nature of their Government may be constantly recruited, while there are Men enough left to recruit them in *France*; all this, I say, being considered, we must have the Prospect of a tedious, bloody, and expensive War, in which our Trade must suffer excessively abroad, while we suffer no less from Debts, Taxes, and other Misfortunes at home. Supposing, therefore, that we should have as great Success in this, as in the last War, which I think an unreasonable Supposition, yet if it were so, the very Expence of the War would ruin us, and we should in the end have only this Satisfaction, *viz.* that we had gratified our Hatred to the *French*, at the Expence (if not the ruin) of ourselves and our Posterity.

I HOPE these Truths will not appear of less Importance, or less convincing, because they are plainly stated, without making any use of the common Artifices of writing, or endeavouring

endeavouring to enliven them by smart Applications, and brisk Strokes of personal Satyr. The former I thought needless, and the latter improper. What I have said, every Man of common Sense may conceive, and if I am not much mistaken, the ablest Politician cannot refute; and as to the Sprightliness of modern Pamphlets, I suspect that it is encouraged on purpose to endanger the Liberty of the Press, which is I think of such high Consequence to this Nation, that I sincerely believe our Liberties could not long survive the Loss of it; and therefore I determined with myself, not to take any of those Freedoms that might provoke an Attempt to its Prejudice. The present Dispute between the Lovers of War, and the Lovers of our Country, may very well be managed without it. The former can only declaim, and assert, and endeavour to represent the latter as Incendiaries, Traytors, and *Jacobites*; but this, I hope, will never deter Men of sound Sense, and a true *British* Spirit, from maintaining the Cause of Truth, and of their Country. If they are satisfied, as they may be very easily satisfied, that we have run of late Years into monstrous public Profusion, and for want of attending to our Domestic Concerns, have suffered Corruption to grow to a much greater Height, than it ever reached in former times; they must be convinced, that the only certain Method
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of remedying these Evils, which if not remedied, must speedily throw all things into Confusion: I say, the only certain Method of doing this, must be putting a Stop to such Expences, as shall appear unnecessary in themselves, and which we are at the same time incapable of bearing, and resorting to the first Principles of our Government, in order, if it be possible, to extinguish that rapacious Spirit of preying on the Vitals of the People, which is but too visible amongst such as are said to be employed in their Service, as appears from the great Frauds discovered in public Offices, and which were committed by the known and notorious Instruments of Men, lately in Power. These are things that may be at present in our Power, but if we continue in the same Tract, and persist obstinately in postponing our own Concerns, that we may attend to foreign Interests only, we shall soon find this totally out of our Power, and the Enemies of the present Establishment, will thereby enjoy the Satisfaction of seeing the new Distinction thoroughly established, of *Englishmen* and *H—n—ns*.

F I N I S.